

Algunos efectos cognitivos y subjetivos de estar conectados a Internet y poder realizar búsquedas

Psic. Daniel Guevel -U.N.R.-

III Congreso Internacional de la AAHD: Humanidades Digitales. La Cultura de los Datos.



Memoria transactiva

Cuando los otros se convierten en repositorios de información

“sistemas transactivos de memoria”.

la **información es distribuída** por todo el grupo de modo que tales individuos son responsables por conocer un área específica de conocimiento experto

Los sistemas de memoria transactiva consisten en dos componentes:

memoria **interna** ¿Qué es lo que sé?

memoria **externa** ¿Quién sabe qué?

Psychological Inquiry, 24, 341–348, 2013
Copyright © Taylor & Francis Group, LLC
ISSN: 1047-840X print / 1532-7965 online
DOI: 10.1080/1047840X.2013.850148

Supernatural: How the Internet Is Changing Our Memories and Our Minds

Adrian F. Ward

University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado

We are creatures of flesh and blood, living in a world of bits and bytes—a world shaped by the Internet. With the simple touch of a button or swipe of a finger, we can instantaneously access vast amounts of information (e.g., Ashton, 2009). A few more keystrokes, and we can interact with friends 10 time zones away (e.g., Thurlow, Lengel, & Tomic, 2004). Just a few more, and we may complete the transition to a digital life, transferring our identities from our physical bodies to online avatars (e.g., Bessière, Seay, & Kiesler, 2007). Perhaps because of its pervasive influence, it's often difficult to imagine a world without the Internet. We know there was a time when encyclopedias represented the pin-needle of information storage and communicating with faraway friends required a trip to the post office (or a faraway mailbox), such as a time feels far removed from the present moment.

However, as Sparrow and Chatman (this issue) point out, the current era of digitally mediated information, communication, and exploration is a new one, a mere "bump on the timescale of human evolution" (p. 273). The Internet first made its way from private laboratories to the public sphere less than 20 years ago (Leiner et al., 2012), and many definitive elements of the Internet are newer still (e.g., Google, founded in 1998; Wikipedia, founded in 2001). For millions of years of evolution (e.g., Tattersall, 2001), "social networks" referred not to thousands of Facebook friends but to small groups of daily interaction partners (Dunbar, 1993) and information search consisted not of typing keywords into Google but of seeking out personally known experts (Wegner, 1995). Our basic cognitive architecture developed in this environment—one far removed from the present Internet Age—and most likely has not changed in the last 20 years (e.g., Bowdler, 1969; Tooby & Cosmides, 1990).

When old cognitive tendencies and new technologies meet—the world of bits and bytes—the Internet may act as a "supernatural stimulus," hijacking preexisting cognitive tendencies and creating long-enforced selection criteria, but are generally foreign; as a result, these new stimuli often elicit greater responses than any naturally occurring stimuli. The Internet may produce supernatural stimulus effects in many domains; for example,

ple, relatively unidirectional Internet-based communication such as blogging and tweeting may protect on the intrinsic rewards associated with social (Tamir & Mitchell, 2012) while protecting from costs associated with social anxiety (Kowalski, 1997), and experimenting with identities online (e.g., Yee, 2006) may allow intrapsychic needs (such as the need for McClelland, 1961) without incurring costs (e.g., Brewer, 1991).

Internet-related supernatural stimuli are particularly powerful in the domain of search on transactive memory: information is distributed between external storage devices (e.g., Wegner, Giuliano, & Hertel, 1985). People turn to their own minds, or their ability for their own information, or such as friends, family, books, or the Internet. For much of human history, for distributing responsibility for distributing responsibility (e.g., Dunbar, 1993) and social groups. However, the stimulus—seems to have storage devices, potentially responsibility for the vast to this single digital reservoir away from biological terms of utilizing other memory—may have led on the way people remember

Transactive memory of information efficiency with (Wegner, 1995), thing. However specific types of capacity to edge in a few each the information of domains of

Acknowledgments: The present study was funded by NIH grants R01 MH086563 to W.A.S. and Y.N. and R01 MH080847 to W.A.S. We thank E. Wang, A. Shang, and N. Nyström for expert animal care and E. Hargreaves, M. Yamik, and M. Shapiro for helpful comments. The authors declare no competing financial interests. Y.N. and W.A.S.

designed the experiments and wrote the manuscript. Y.N. performed the experiment and analyzed the data.

Supporting Online Material
www.sciencemag.org/content/333/6043/773/DC1
Materials and Methods

SOM Text
Figs. S1 to S7
Tables S1 to S5
References (24–35)

11 April 2013; accepted 21 June 2013
10.1126/science.1206773

Google Effects on Memory: Cognitive Consequences of Having Information at Our Fingertips

Betsy Sparrow,^{1*} Jenny Liu,² Daniel M. Wegner¹

The advent of the Internet, with sophisticated algorithmic search engines, has made accessing information as easy as lifting a finger. No longer do we have to make costly efforts to find the things we want. We can "Google" the old classmate, find articles online, or look up the actor who was on the tip of our tongue. The results of four studies suggest that when faced with difficult questions, people are primed to think about computers and that when people expect to have future access to information, they have lower rates of recall of the information itself, an enhanced recall instead for where to access it. The Internet has become a primary form of external or transactive memory, where information is stored collectively outside ourselves.

In a development that would have seemed extraordinary just over a decade ago, many of us have constant access to information. If we need to find out the score of a ball game, learn how to perform a complicated statistical test, or simply remember the name of the actress in the classic movie we are viewing, we need only turn to our laptops, tablets, or smartphones and we can find the answers immediately. It has become so commonplace to look up the answer to any question the moment it occurs that it can feel like going through wilderness when we can't find out something immediately. We are seldom offline unless by choice, and it is hard to remember how we found information before the Internet became a ubiquitous presence in our lives. The Internet, with its search engines such as Google and databases such as IMDb and the information stored there, has become an external memory source that we can access at any time.

Storing information externally is nothing particularly novel, even before the advent of computers. In any long-term relationship, a team work environment, or other ongoing group, people typically develop a group or transactive memory (T), a combination of memory stores held directly by individuals and the memory stores they can access because they know someone who knows that information. Like linked computers that can address each other's memories,

people in dyads or groups form transactive memory systems (2, 3). The present research explores whether having online access to search engines, databases, and the like, has become a primary transactive memory source in itself. We investigate whether the Internet has become an external memory system that is primed by the need to acquire information. If asked the question whether there are any countries with only one color in their flag, for example, do we think about flags or immediately think to go online to find out? Our research then tested whether, once information has been accessed, our internal encoding is increased for where the information is to be found rather than for the information itself.

In experiment 1, participants were tested in two within-subject conditions (4). Participants answered either easy or hard yes/no trivia questions in two blocks. Each block was followed by a modified Stroop task (a color-naming task with words presented in either blue or red) to test reaction times to matched computer and noncomputer terms (including general and brand names for both word groups). People who have been disposed to think about a certain topic typically show slowed reaction times (RTs) for naming the color of the word when the word itself is of interest and is more accessible, because the word captures attention and interferes with the fastest possible color naming.

Parred within-subject T tests were conducted on color-naming reaction times to computer and general words after the easy and difficult question blocks. Confirming our hypothesis, computer words were more accessible [color-naming RT mean (M) = 712 ms, SD = 413 ms] than general words (M = 591 ms, SD = 204 ms) after

participants had encountered to which they did $t(68) = 3.26$, $P < 0.00$ when we were faced with the situation. Computer words were more accessible (M = 182 ms) than $t(298, P = 0.005)$, S may be primed by edge in general i

Comparison v
ysis of variance
engines (Google
good brand na
interaction with
F(1,66) = 5.02,
brands after b
SD = 260 ms
SD = 517 m
general brand
SD = 226 m
SD = 220 m

information is
responsible for
one person could
while another knows
must also track
these systems consist
("What do I know?"
(Hollingshead,
Transactive memory
Wegner, Giuliano,
performed efficiently.
strangers, as stereotypes

Transactive memory
Wegner, Giuliano,
performed efficiently.
strangers, as stereotypes

Matthew Fisher, Mariel K. Goddu, and Frank C. Keil, Department of Psychology, Yale University.

This project was made possible through the support of a grant from the Templeton Foundation. The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Templeton Foundation.

*To whom correspondence should be addressed. E-mail: sparrow@psych.columbia.edu

Just as a walking stick or a baseball glove can supplement the functioning of the body, cognitive tools, computational instruments, and external information sources can supplement the functioning of the mind. The mind can often increase efficiency and functionality by utilizing outside sources; for tasks like memory, it can use external archives that become necessary components of an interdependent memory system (Harris, 1978). The mind can also become dependent on other minds. When others serve as externalized repositories of information, transactive memory systems can emerge (Wegner, 1987). In these systems, information is distributed across a group such that individuals are responsible for knowing a specified area of expertise. For instance, one person could be responsible for knowing where to find food, another could be responsible for knowing where to find a book, and so on. These systems consist of two key elements: internal memory ("What do I know?") and external memory ("Who knows what?") (Hollingshead, 1998, 2001). By reducing redundancy, transactive memory systems work to reduce, store, and retrieve information more effectively than could be done by any individual.

Transactive memory systems explain how intimate couples (Wegner, Giuliano, & Hertel, 1985) and familiar groups (Kozlowski & Igen, 2006; Pelschke, 2008) divide cognitive labor and perform efficiently. These systems can form even with complete strangers, as stereotypes can serve as "defaults" or proxies for

Matthew Fisher, Mariel K. Goddu, and Frank C. Keil, Department of Psychology, Yale University.

This project was made possible through the support of a grant from the Templeton Foundation. The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Templeton Foundation.

*To whom correspondence should be addressed. E-mail: sparrow@psych.columbia.edu

Searching for Explanations: How the Internet Inflates Estimates of Internal Knowledge

Matthew Fisher, Mariel K. Goddu, and Frank C. Keil
Yale University

As the Internet has become a nearly ubiquitous resource for acquiring knowledge about the world, questions have arisen about its potential effects on cognition. Here we show that searching for one's personal understanding of the information whereby people make access to information for more knowledge "in the head," even seeing their own brains as more active as depicted by functional MRI (fMRI) images.

Keywords: transactive memory, explanation, knowledge

Just as a walking stick or a baseball glove can supplement the functioning of the body, cognitive tools, computational instruments, and external information sources can supplement the functioning of the mind. The mind can often increase efficiency and functionality by utilizing outside sources; for tasks like memory, it can use external archives that become necessary components of an interdependent memory system (Harris, 1978). The mind can also become dependent on other minds. When others serve as externalized repositories of information, transactive memory systems can emerge (Wegner, 1987). In these systems, information is distributed across a group such that individuals are responsible for knowing a specified area of expertise. For instance, one person could be responsible for knowing where to find food, another could be responsible for knowing where to find a book, and so on. These systems consist of two key elements: internal memory ("What do I know?") and external memory ("Who knows what?") (Hollingshead, 1998, 2001). By reducing redundancy, transactive memory systems work to reduce, store, and retrieve information more effectively than could be done by any individual.

Transactive memory systems explain how intimate couples (Wegner, Giuliano, & Hertel, 1985) and familiar groups (Kozlowski & Igen, 2006; Pelschke, 2008) divide cognitive labor and perform efficiently. These systems can form even with complete strangers, as stereotypes can serve as "defaults" or proxies for

Matthew Fisher, Mariel K. Goddu, and Frank C. Keil, Department of Psychology, Yale University.

This project was made possible through the support of a grant from the Templeton Foundation. The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Templeton Foundation.

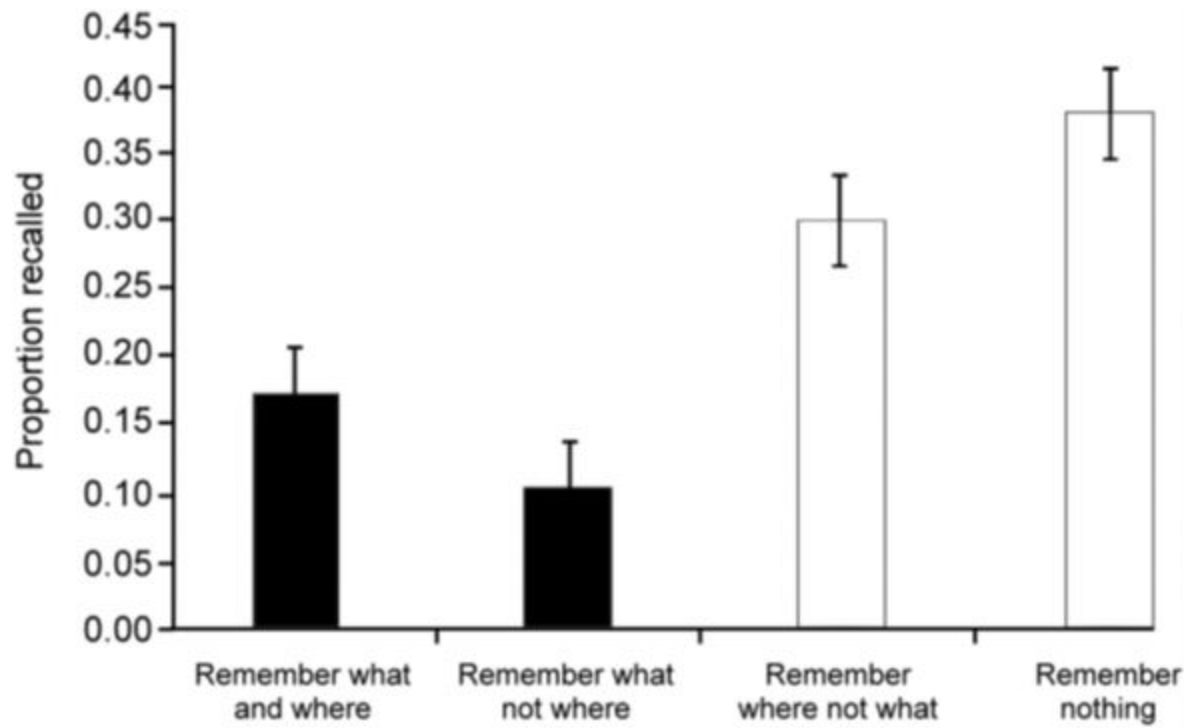
*To whom correspondence should be addressed. E-mail: sparrow@psych.columbia.edu

*To whom correspondence should be addressed. E-mail: sparrow@psych.columbia.edu

© 2013 American Psychological Association
0950-5651/13/\$12.00
DOI: 10.1037/xap0000001



- Poder hacer búsquedas y tener a nuestra disposición **archivos** tiene un efecto en nuestra **memoria**
- Internet es un **estímulo supra normal**
- Poder usar buscadores **amplifica la estimación de nuestro conocimiento interno**



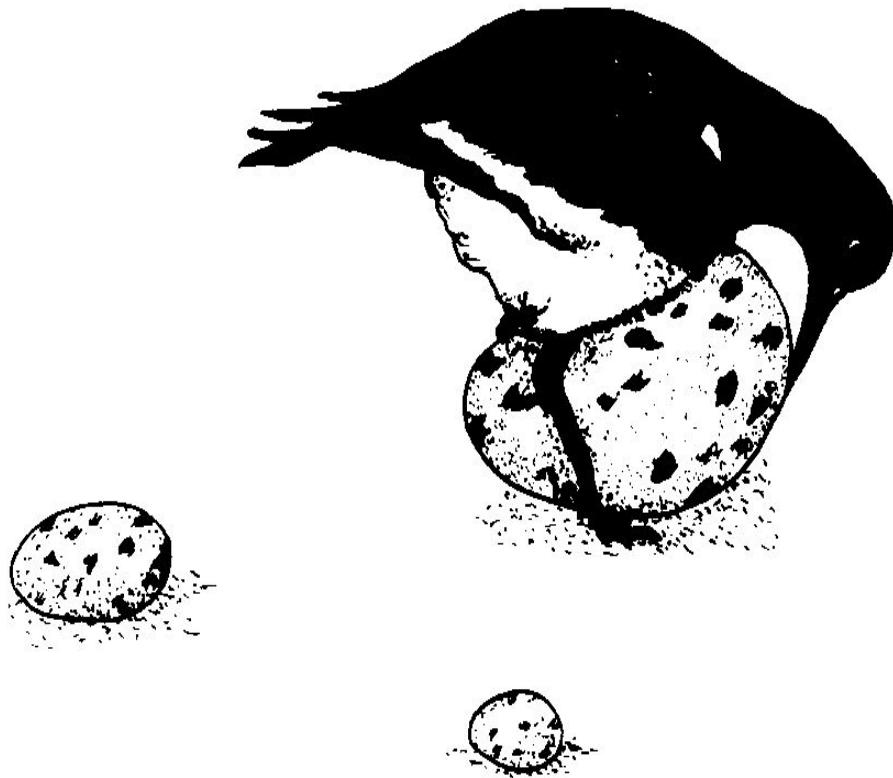
Análisis si/entonces de memoria para “qué información es” y “dónde encontrarla”.

Recordamos más aquello que sabemos no se va a archivar



Creemos que sabemos más porque consideramos propia la memoria de los sistemas transactivos

Buscar en Internet puede llevar a la gente a **confundir la información que está disponible *online* con el conocimiento que posee en su cabeza**, como lo demostró Matthew Fisher



Internet como un “estímulo supernormal”

Según Fisher aunque Internet carezca de la agencia de los compañeros de memoria transactiva humanos, posee muchas de sus características. Incluso se la ha llamado como un **“estímulo supernormal” al reemplazar el conocimiento interno por uno externo que todo lo sabe.**

Un pájato es atraído por un huevo anormalmente grande mientras ignora los de tamaño real

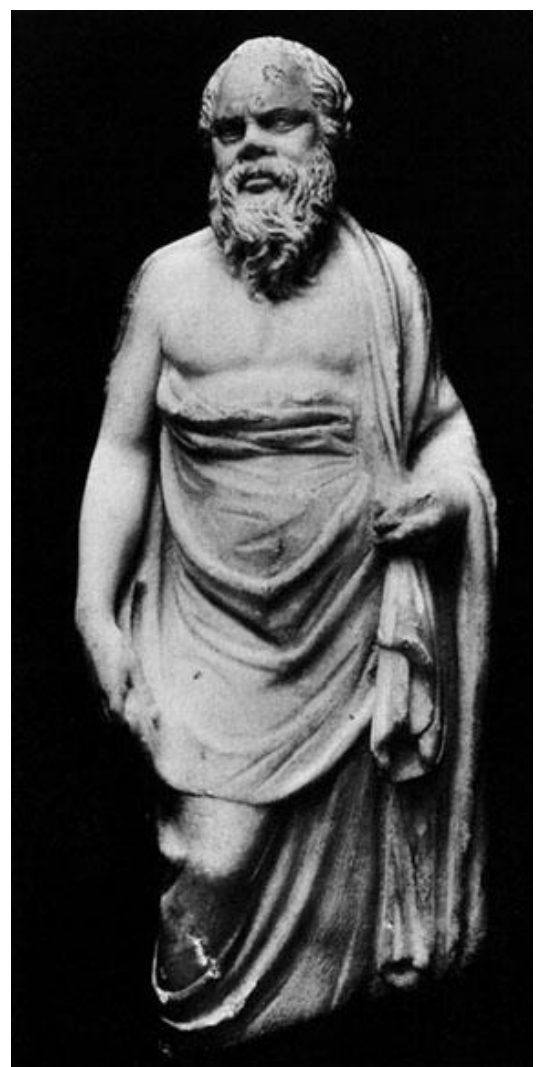
Sócrates discutiendo la **memoria y la escritura** en el Fedro de Platón en el **370 AC**.

"Aquellos que la adquieran (escritura) dejarán de ejercitar su memoria y se volverán olvidadizos, **dependerán de la escritura para traer cosas a su recuerdo** mediante signos externos en vez de sus propios recursos internos"

Vaughan Bell: "Don't Touch That Dial!"

Una historia del **temor** que despertaron los medios tecnológicos desde la imprenta a Facebook

[https://slate.com/technology/2010/02/a-history-of-media-technology-scar-
es-from-the-printing-press-to-facebook.html](https://slate.com/technology/2010/02/a-history-of-media-technology-scar-es-from-the-printing-press-to-facebook.html)





Ingeniosa máquina de leer, procedente de la edición de 1588 de *Diverse et Artificiose Machine*.

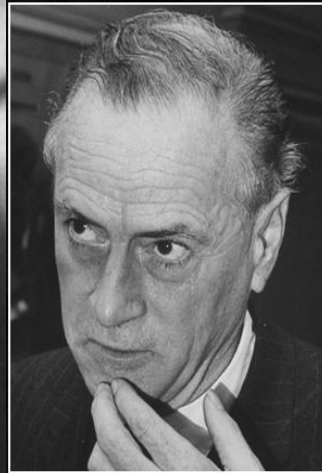
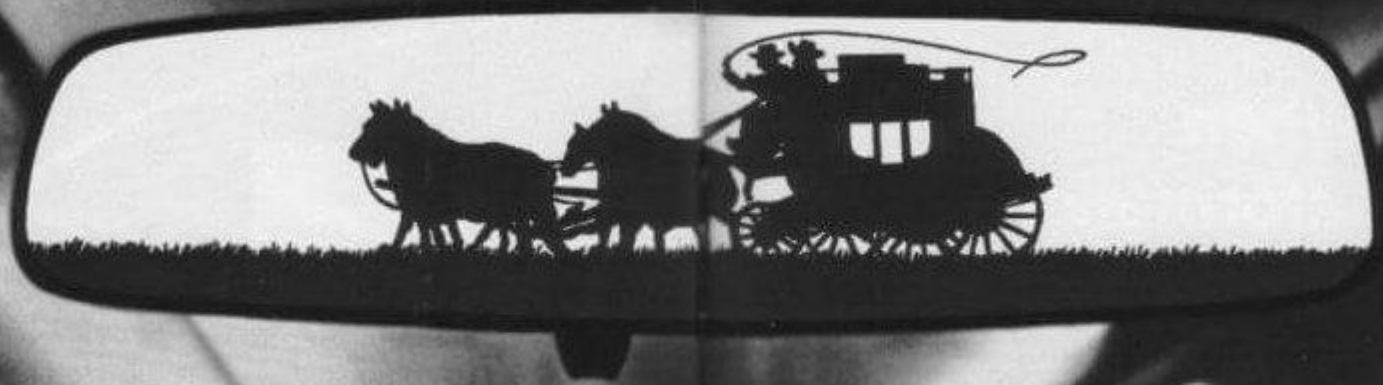
Manguel, A. (2005). *Una historia de la lectura*. Emece.

<https://www.loc.gov/item/65058982/>

FIGVRE CLXXXVIII.



Et



We drive into the future using only
our rearview mirror.



— *Marshall McLuhan* —

Your web history is limited to searches. [Expand your web history.](#)

Web History is on [Pause](#) [Learn more](#)

☐ [Remove](#) [Remove all Web History](#)

Today

- ☐ Searched for [google search history](#) 1:25pm
- ☐  Google Users, You Have A 'Brutal' Choice... - [forbes.com](#) ★ 1:25pm
Forbes - Feb 28, 2012
- ☐ Searched for [delete history google](#) 1:24pm
- ☐ [Remove all Web History - Accounts Help](#) - [google.com](#) ★ 1:24pm
- ☐ Searched for [coffee](#) 1:18pm
- ☐ [Starbucks](#) - [google.com](#) ★ 1:18pm
- ☐ Searched for [290 Manhattan Drive, Boulder, CO 80303](#) 1:18pm
- ☐ Searched for [dell windows 7 start menu](#) 11:38am
- ☐  ★ 11:39am

Web Activity

Feb 2012 < >

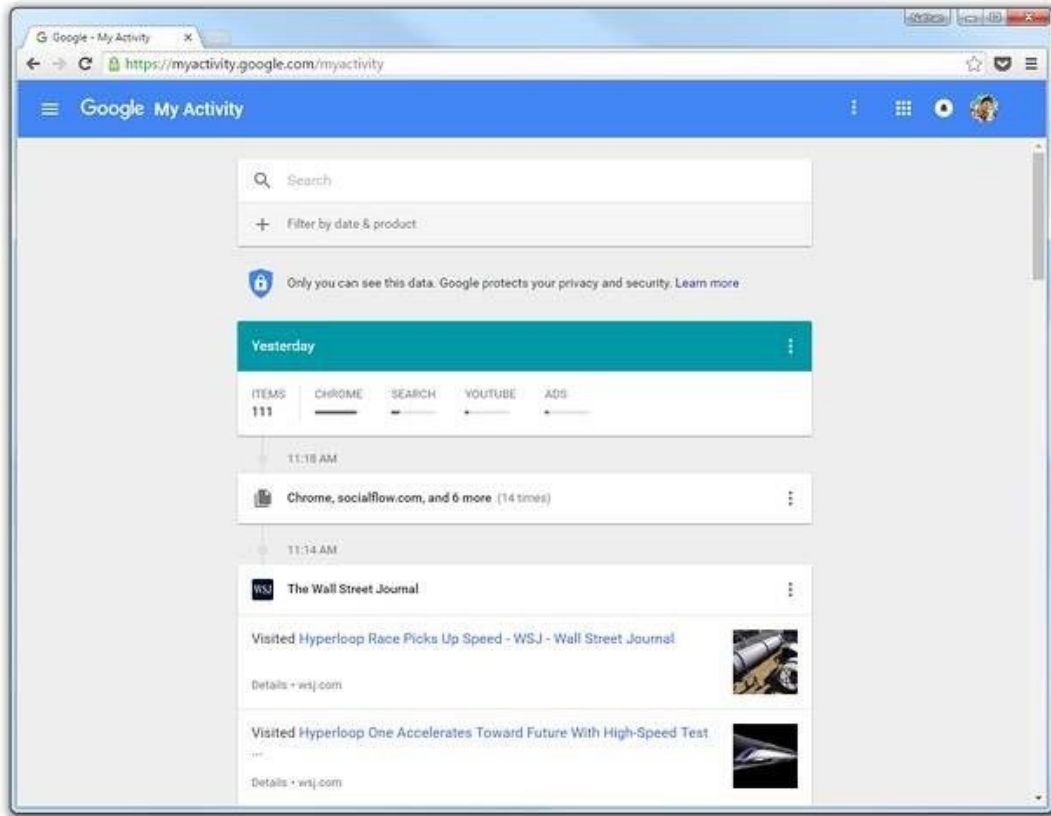
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
29	30	31	1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	1	2	3

1 - 5 6 - 10 11 - 20 21+

Total Google searches: 20058

usuario -----> archivo
(Google)

--//→ archivo del
usuario



Los archivos digitales generan un archivo del usuario:

el archivo digital como la nueva infraestructura de medios que está hecha con “micro-archivos de datos que se usan para posteriores procesamientos” (Ernst, 2015:9)

myactivity.google.com

[TODO](#)
[IMÁGENES](#)
[VÍDEOS](#)
[NOTICIAS](#)

Teoría de la lectura y la escritura como procesos. El lenguaje y la comunicación se constituyen en aspectos relevantes para desarrollar los procesos de aprendizaje de la **lectura** y la escritura. Es así como en el acto de leer, es necesario que el niño y la niña hayan adquirido el lenguaje oral.

[Teoría de la lectura y la escritura como procesos - PORTFOLIO DE ...](#)
<https://sites.google.com/portafolioeracedo>

[Acerca de este resultado](#) [Comentarios](#)

[El Poder de la Lectura: TEORÍAS DE LA ...](#)
tuslecturasanimadas.blogspot.com/teori...

La teoría psicolingüística

[LIBROS](#)
[VUELOS](#)
[HERRAMIENTAS DE BÚSQUEDA](#)

[Lectura digital infantil: Dispositivos, aplicaciones y contenidos](#)
<https://books.google.com.ar/books?isbn...>

García-Rodríguez, Araceli, Gómez-Díaz, Raquel - Vista previa

... la literatura infantil y juvenil en cualquier formato. En él se incluyen artículos y estudios sobre la **lectura digital** y la LIJ 2.0. en general.

[La lectura digital en el ámbito de la Universidad Veracruzana](#)
<https://books.google.com.ar/books?isbn...>

Antonia Olivia Jarvio Fernández - 2011 - Vista previa - Más ediciones

Los resultados de la investigación establecen que una mayoría de respuestas (47%), expresa que la **lectura digital** la realiza por partes ...

➡ Google “lee” páginas web y libros según nuestras búsquedas dando resultados basados en algoritmos.



"lectura digital"



LIBROS

VUELOS

HERRAMIENTAS DE BÚSQUEDA

Lectura digital infantil: Dispositivos, aplicaciones y contenidos

<https://books.google.com.ar/books?isbn...>



García-Rodríguez, Araceli, Gómez-Díaz, Raquel - Vista previa

... la literatura infantil y juvenil en cualquier formato. En él se incluyen artículos y estudios sobre la **lectura digital** y la LIJ 2.0. en general.

La lectura digital en el ámbito de la Universidad Veracruzana

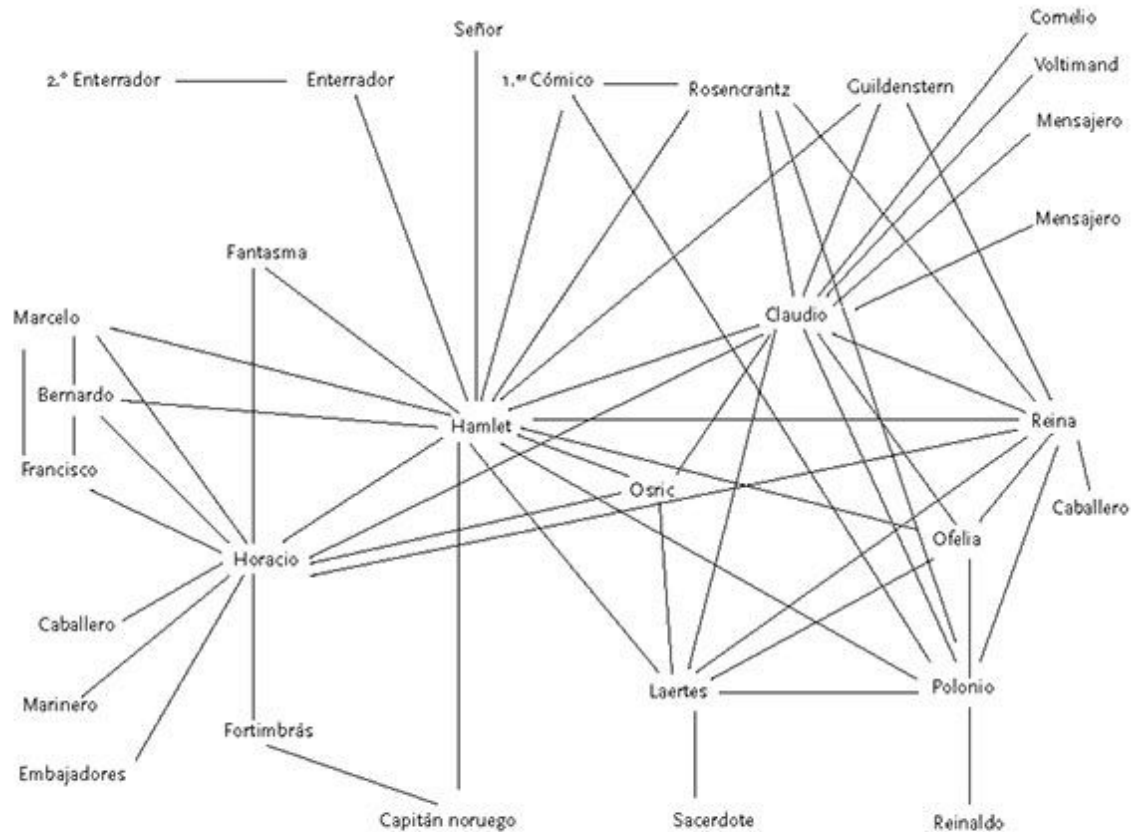
<https://books.google.com.ar/books?isbn...>



Antonia Olivia Jarvio Fernández - 2011 - Vista previa - Más ediciones

Los resultados de la investigación establecen que una mayoría de respuestas (47%), expresa que la **lectura digital** la realiza por partes ...





La red de Hamlet

los gráficos, los mapas y los árboles; objetos diversos, pero que son resultado de un proceso de deliberada *reducción* y *abstracción*

La literatura vista desde lejos - Franco Moretti

➡ Los críticos literarios leen a distancia combinando algoritmos a historia cuantitativa, la geografía y la teoría evolutiva

¡Muchas gracias por su atención!

Daniel Guevel

guevel@gmail.com

Facultad de Humanidades y Artes U.N.R.

